For Peace and Stability in Southeast Asia

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FOR PEACE AND STABILITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

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EDITOR'S NOTE

We intend to acquaint the reader with the analysis of the situation in Southeast Asia made by the Governments of the three Indochinese countries (the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam) and the proposals they have put forward with a view to putting an end to tension and turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation without foreign intervention. To this end, we are going to publish in one book a number of documents relating to the matter concerned, which consist of :

— The Communique of the 6th Conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam held from 6 to 7 July 1982 in Ho Chi Minh City:

— A note sent to the Foreign Ministers of the five ASEAN countries (Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand) on 15 September by Mr Phoune Sipaseuth, Foreign Minister of Laos, in his own name and on behalf of his Kampuchean and Vietnamese counterparts;

— *The Statement of the Summit Conference of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam held in Vientiane from 22 to 23 February 1983 ;*

— *The Statement issued by this Summit Conference on the presence in Kampuchea of volunteers from the Vietnamese Army ;*

— *The speech delivered by Nguyen Co Thach, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the SRV, at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries in New Delhi on 3 March 1983 ;*

— *The Communique of the Extraordinary Meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam held in Phnom Penh on 12 April 1983 ;*

— *A chronology of events concerning the solidarity between Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam.*

A close study of these documents shows that the root cause of the tension lies in the hegemonistic policy pursued by the Chinese leaders, acting in collusion with US imperialism and other reactionary forces ; the use of That territory as a "sanctuary" for Khmer Rouge military forces and their allies constitutes a constant threat to Kampuchea and the other Indochinese countries.

The maintaining in the United Nations Organization of the disguised Pol Pot elements hinders the positive role which this international organization might play in the region. As for the

volunteers from the Vietnamese Army, they are present in Kampuchea in response to the aspirations of the Kampuchean people whom they are protecting against a return of the Pol Pot terror.

The situation in 1982 allowed the first partial withdrawal. The second withdrawal took place in May 1983.

The three countries, which have time and again expressed their readiness to develop good relations with their neighbours, stress their desire to continue the dialogue in the spirit of the resolutions of the 7th Summit Conference of non-aligned countries. Their proposals, moreover, conform to the spirit of international agreements on Indochina and the principles of the UN Charter. Furthermore they stress their traditional friendship with the Chinese people and state that they will not spare any effort aimed at re-establishing normal relations with the People's Republic of China.

COMMUNIQUE
OF THE SIXTH CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF LAOS, KAMPUCHEA AND VIETNAM (July 6—7, 1982)

The Sixth Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was held in Ho Chi Minh City (Vietnam) on July 6 and 7, 1982.

1. The Conference reviewed the relations of friendship and cooperation between the three countries and the preparatory work for the Summit Conference of the three countries which they agreed would be held next December.

2. The Conference noted that the world is going through an extremely complex period. Imperialist forces headed by US imperialism, and with the connivance of reactionary elements in the Beijing ruling circles are endeavouring to drive mankind towards an exterminating nuclear war. They are inveigling regional reactionary forces to thwart the national liberation and independence movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. World peace, independence and right to self-determination of many nations are

seriously threatened. In such circumstances the Conference considered that the struggles for peace and national independence can by no means be dissociated from each other and indeed are of paramount importance. As far as they are concerned the Lao, Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples will continue to do their utmost to contribute to this common struggle. The Indochinese peoples wholly support the important initiatives taken by the Soviet Union, the socialist and non-aligned countries on disarmament, especially the recent declaration of President Leonid Brezhnev in which the Soviet Union pledged not to be the first country to use nuclear weapons. The Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam urge imperialist forces to put an end to the arms race and reduce tension in the world. The Lao, Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples severely condemn the United States and Israel and demand that they stop the war of aggression and genocide against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, and other Arab nations. The Lao, Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples are confident that the just struggle of the Palestinian and Arab peoples will triumph. The peoples of the three Indochinese countries once again reiterate their resolute support for the struggle of all the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America for peace, national independence and social progress.

3. The Conference proceeded to an analysis of the situation in Southeast Asia and the struggle of the Lao, Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples to build and

defend their countries and to promote peace and stability in the region as well.

The Conference acknowledged that the situation in Southeast Asia, although still tense and complicated due to the policy of aggression and interference pursued by reactionary forces in the Beijing ruling circles, acting in collusion with US imperialism and other reactionary elements in the region to oppose Laos, Kampuchea, Vietnam and other countries in Southeast Asia, has developed in favour of the forces of peace and national independence. The manœuvres of the reactionaries in the Beijing ruling circles aim at maintaining tension along the borders between the three Indochinese countries and China and Thailand, carrying out sabotage in many fields within each country and pitting the ASEAN countries against the Indochinese countries. They wish to weaken Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, sabotage the rebirth of the Kampuchean people, sow division among the three Indochinese peoples and discord between them and the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community, to isolate Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam in the international arena. However, their schemes have not had the expected results. On the contrary, the situation in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, in spite of difficulties, continues to consolidate and develop satisfactorily. Realities in Southeast Asia over the past three years have clearly shown world opinion, including different strata of the population and a certain number of personalities in the ruling circles of the ASEAN countries, that the main cause of the tension and instability in Southeast Asia lies in

the Beijing ruling circles' expansionist and hegemonist policy. Like other countries in Southeast Asia, Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam have always wished to live in peace, friendship and co-operation with all other countries, first of all with neighbouring countries in Southeast Asia and China. All people of common sense hail and highly appreciate the initiatives of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam aimed at restoring peace and stability in this part of the world.

4. The peoples of Laos Kampuchea and Vietnam have always thought highly of the traditional friendship between the fraternal Chinese people and themselves. The present struggle of the peoples of the three countries against the policy of aggression and intervention of the reactionaries in the Beijing ruling circles aims precisely at restoring those relations which constitute an extremely important factor for peace and stability in Southeast Asia. In the common interest of the Indochinese peoples, of the Chinese and world peoples, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam once again call on the People's Republic of China to give a positive response to the proposal of January 28, 1981 made by Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam on the signing of bilateral or multilateral treaties of peaceful co-existence between Laos, Kampuchea, Vietnam and China. The Lao People's Democratic Republic and the people's Republic of Kampuchea fully support the goodwill proposals made by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to resume the Vietnam-China talks to settle

problems in bilateral relations. In the immediate future, it is necessary to arrange contacts between the two countries in preparation for the resumption of these talks

The peoples of Laos and Kampuchea deeply appreciate the great and valuable contribution made by the Vietnam People's Army, together with the people's armies of Laos and Kampuchea, to the defence of peace and independence of the three countries. The People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam once again reaffirm that the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea responds to the request of the Kampuchean people and is in conformity with the terms of the Vietnam-Kampuchea Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation in order to deal with the threat from the Beijing ruling circles acting in collusion with American imperialists and other reactionary forces. The two countries will agree on a total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea when that threat is removed.

5. The presence in Kampuchea of Vietnamese troops in no way threatens Thailand's security. Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam have on several occasions proposed to sign with Thailand treaties of non-aggression and non-intervention in their respective internal affairs. At the same time, they are ready to negotiate with Thailand on all necessary measures to ensure security, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity for each country. The People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam reaffirm their standpoint regarding the partial withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea provided

that the reactionaries in the Beijing ruling circles are no longer allowed to use Thai territory to help the Khmer reactionaries oppose the Kampuchean people, and that the Polpotists and other reactionary Khmer forces are disarmed, not supplied with weapons and food nor allowed to use Thai territory to impede the revival of the Kampuchean people. As an act of good-will, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam agreed to make the first steps; they decided to withdraw a number of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea in July, 1982. Depending on the state of security and stability at the Kampuchea-Thailand border and on Thailand's response to their initiative, Kampuchea and Vietnam might consider a further withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea in the near future.

It is hoped that this act of goodwill will meet with a positive response from Thailand leading to the re-establishment of peace and stability in the Kampuchea-Thailand border area. Should the reactionaries in the Beijing ruling circles, their henchmen and other reactionary forces take advantage of the withdrawal to step up hostile activities against the Kampuchean people, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam would consult each other, as stipulated in Article 2 of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation signed by the two countries on February 18, 1979, and decide on appropriate measures.

The People's Republic of Kampuchea reasserts its proposal of July 18, 1980 as to the establishment of a

demilitarized zone along the border between Kampuchea and Thailand. If Thailand is not yet prepared to agree to that proposal, the People's Republic of Kampuchea proposes the setting up of a safety zone along the border between Kampuchea and Thailand. Only the armed forces of the People's Republic of Kampuchea will be present in that part of the safety zone situated in Kampuchea. The Vietnamese troops who are assuming internationalist obligations in Kampuchea will not be stationed in that area. Only the armed forces of the Kingdom of Thailand will be present in the part of the safety zone located on Thai territory. The Pol Pot remnant troops and other reactionary Khmer forces must be expelled and refugee camps moved out of the safety zone. The status and the width of the zone will be agreed upon by the two parties.

The People's Republic of Kampuchea is prepared to discuss with the Kingdom of Thailand every measure to ensure the full respect of the border between the two countries, and to prevent the utilization of one country's territory to nurture hostile activities against the other.

To ensure the implemention of the agreements on peace and security at the border between the two countries, the two sides will agree on an international supervision. If the United Nations gives up the recognition of the representation of the Pol Pot or disguised Pol Pot clique, the People's Republic of Kampuchea may consider a United Nations control.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic and the

Socialist Republic of Vietnam wholly support this initiative of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and call on Thailand to give a positive response thereto.

Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam reiterate their proposal of February 17, 1982 to open contacts with Thailand to discuss and settle all questions of common concern.

6. The Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam reaffirmed that they were prepared to organize meetings with the ASEAN countries to discuss and settle regional problems according to the principles of equality, mutual respect and non-enforcement of one party's views upon the other. The three countries are of the opinion that the two groups of Indochinese and ASEAN countries should reach an agreement on a form of international conference on matters relating to Southeast Asia on the basis of the principle that regional problems should be discussed and resolved by the countries in the region without infringing upon the sovereignty or interfering in the internal affairs of each country, while all problems between Southeast Asian countries and countries situated outside the region will be settled by those two groups of countries. Accordingly, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam propose the convening of an international conference on Southeast Asia with the participation of the two.

groups of Indochinese and ASEAN countries, Burma, and the 5 countries which participated in the 1954, 1961-1962 and 1973 international conferences on Indochina i.e. the Soviet Union, China, the United States, France, and Great Britain. India, a neighbouring country which for a very long time has had relations of friendship with the Southeast Asian countries and greatly contributed to safeguarding peace in Indochina and in the region for the past twenty years, should also participate.

The UN Secretary-General will be invited to attend this conference in his personal capacity. In the event of the expulsion of the Pol Pot clique from the United Nations, the UN Secretary-General will take part in the conference in his capacity as UN official representative.

Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam are prepared to meet the ASEAN countries to discuss and reach agreement on all matters relating to this conference (e.g. date and place, attendance, agenda, procedures, etc).

7. The Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam hold that the setting up of the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea is a farce aimed at concealing the evil nature of the Pol Pot clique, an attempt to reimpose the genocidal regime on the Kampuchean people (just saved from extermination) and a plot hatched by the reactionaries in the Chinese ruling circles, ASEAN and the US imperialists to interfere in Kampuchean

internal affairs and continue creating tension in Southeast Asia. The three countries consider that the retention of the representation of the Pol Pot clique at the UN, under whatever name, is an illegal act which contravenes the UN Charter. For the sake of justice and the UN prestige, Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam resolutely demand that the organization expel the Pol Pot and disguised Pol Pot clique and restore the Kampuchean seat to the People's Republic of Kampuchea the sole genuine and legal representative of the Kampuchean people. The People's Republic of Kampuchea declares that, in the immediate future, it does not require the UN to accept its representation if the UN expels the Pol Pot clique, but rather leave the Kampuchean seat vacant. The Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam totally approve of this constructive standpoint of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

8. The Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam proceeded in a spirit of close friendship and unanimity of views The People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam highly appreciate the contribution by the Lao People's Democratic Republic as representative of the three countries at various international fora and in promoting dialogue with the ASEAN countries.

Ho Chi Minh City, July 7, 1982

NOTE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC TO THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF ASEAN COUNTRIES

(September 15, 1982)

1. The concern of the three Indochinese countries is to end China's threat to them. We hold that the three Indochinese and the five ASEAN countries should heed the concern and legitimate interests of each other. In the past three years the ASEAN countries, while asking for the unilateral withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, did not heed the security interests of the three Indochinese countries. We are ready to meet the wish of the ASEAN countries for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea if the interests of the three Indochinese countries in ending China's threat are met. The three Indochinese countries have proposed to China to sign treaties of non-aggression and non-intervention. Regrettably, there has been no positive response on the part of China so far.

2. The Thai side regards the presence of units of the Vietnamese army near the Kampuchea-Thai border as a threat to Thailand's security. For their part, Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos consider the use

of Thai territory by China and the Pol Pot clique together with other reactionary Khmer forces against the revival of the Kampuchean people to be a constant threat to the security of Kampuchea and the other Indochinese countries.

The realities of the past three years have shown that the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea does not threaten in any way Thailand's security Many a time the Thai side has stated that there is no need to sign non-aggression treaties between Thailand and the three Indochinese countries since there is no danger of aggression by Vietnam against Thailand. On the other hand, the activities of the Pol Pot clique and other Khmer reactionaries based in Thailand have seriously threatened Kampuchea's security, causing a continually explosive situation on the Thai-Kampuchean border. The recent founding of a so-called tripártite coalition government is aimed at helping the Pol Pot clique and other Khmer reactionaries step up activities against the People's Republic of Kampuchea, undermining the revival of the Kampuchean people and aggravating the tension on the Kampuchean-Thai border.

By maintaining their support and assistance to this "coalition government" the ASEAN countries cannot but run further counter to their declared objective of "finding a political solution".

This will create a dangerous antecedent for foreign intervention against independent and sovereign nations and violate the principles of the UN Charter and the Non-Aligned Movement.

We deem it necessary to heed the security interests of Thailand, and at the same time to heed the security interests of Kampuchea. To this end, there should be effective measures to check the use of the territory of one country against the other. Proceeding from this basic stand, the People's Republic of Kampuchea proposed in July 1980 to establish a demilitarised zone along the Kampuchean-Thai border, but the Thai side did not agree, saying that it could not withdraw its troops from a part of its own territory.

At the recent Conference of the Lao, Kampuchean and Vietnamese Foreign Ministers, the three Indochinese countries took notice of Thailand's stand on a demilitarised zone, and put forward a new proposal to set up a safety zone along the Kampuchean-Thai border. This proposal takes into account Thailand's stand that troops of the Thai Kingdom could not be withdrawn from a part of its territory. The new proposal only asks for the withdrawal of forces which do not belong to Thailand or the People's Republic of Kampuchea from the safety zone. The three Indochinese countries voice their readiness to discuss and reach agreement with the Thai side on such concrete matters as the width of the safety zone, the scope of Vietnamese troops withdrawal from the Kampuchean-Thai border, as well as the removal of the Pol Potist and other Khmer reactionaries and refugee camps away from this border The three Indochinese countries deem it necessary that an agreement be reached on a form of international supervision of the safety zone.

To show their goodwill, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and Vietnam have of late taken the initiative in unilaterally withdrawing some units of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. If the Thai side gives a positive response to this goodwill act, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialis Republic of Vietnam will withdraw more Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

In case Thailand refuses to establish the safety zone, the three Indochinese countries are ready to discuss and reach agreement with the Thai side on any measure likely to ensure strict respect of the Kampuchean-Thai border, as well as any measure, including a form of international supervision, to ensure peace and stability there.

Many a time the People's Republic of Kampuchea has stated that an agreement on this question bears no relation to a *de jure* recognition of each other by the two sides. The People's Republic of Kampuchea will not let the question of mutual recognition hinder the discussion and agreement on the safety zone. The realities of the past 30 years have shown that the United States and Thailand signed with Vietnam and China the 1961—1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos, and the United States and Vietnam signed the Paris Agreement on Vietnam in 1973 without subsequent mutual recognition.

3. The ASEAN countries have stood for the convening of an international conference within the UN framework to settle the Kampuchean problem. They unilaterally convened this conference in disregard

of the three Indochinese countries' protest. This is imposition from one side. The three Indochinese countries have put forward a proposal to convene a regional conference between the two groups: the ASEAN and the Indochinese countries. This has not been accepted by the ASEAN countries, and so such a regional conference has not been convened.

The realities of the past three years have shown that an international conference can only be fruitful if it is agreed upon and attended by the parties directly concerned. The international conference convened by the UN in July 1981 only resulted in creating an impasse. With the goodwill to find a way out of this abnormal situation and taking into consideration both the ASEAN countries' proposal for an international conference and the three Indochinese countries' proposal for a regional conference, the recent Conference of the Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean Foreign Ministers put forward a proposal for an international conference on Southeast Asia with the participation of nine countries inside and six others outside the region. (The former are the three Indochinese countries, the five ASEAN countries, and Burma; the latter are the Soviet Union, the United States, China, France, Britain, and India).

This conference will be convened only when agreement is reached between the countries directly concerned i.e. the ASEAN and the Indochinese countries, on its composition, agenda, place and time.

Regarding the composition of the conference, there may be disagreement on what countries are to take

part, particularly on the representation of Kampuchea. We think that this matter can be discussed and a formula acceptable to all can be found. It should not hinder the convening of the conference. The three Indochinese countries welcome the UNO's contribution to peace and stability in Southeast Asia, But the UNO's maintenance of the Pol Pot genocidal clique has hampered its positive role.

Concerning the agenda, there may also be disagreement. We think that the conference can discuss all problems in the region which may be raised by each side on the principle of complete equality. For us there are many ways: an agreed agenda, an open agenda, or an agenda with both agreed-upon questions and open questions.

About the place, we think that the conference can meet in a Southeast Asian country or neutral country in Asia or Europe, perhaps Rangoon, New Delhi, Paris, Stockholm or Vienna,... to be agreed upon by the two groups of countries.

As for the time of the conference, we think that the problems of peace and stability in Southeast Asia are most urgent and must be settled the sooner the better. Therefore, we think that it should be convened sometime in the last quarter of this year or early next year.

4. The realities of the past three years have shown that the ASEAN and Indochinese countries have a great common interest in maintaining peace, stability and co-operation in the region. Any disagreement between the two groups of countries can perfectly

be settled through dialogue and negotiations on the following principles:

— Mutual respect for each other's legitimate interests;

— Equality and mutual agreement, without any unilateral imposition whatsoever and without interference from outside.

We are very glad that dialogue has now taken place between the two groups of countries in Southeast Asia. We hope that the two sides will further strive to maintain and promote the present atmosphere of detente and dialogue, at least refrain from doing anything likely to worsen the situation. We also hope that all countries outside the region which wish to see peace and stability in Southeast Asia will do likewise so as to create favourable conditions for the exchange of views in a spirit of conciliation and co-operation, and step by step settle all problems in the relations between the two groups of countries and other regional issues. It is also our hope that the UNO will make a positive contribution to the cause of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

In this spirit we sincerely hope for further understanding with regard to the proposals of the three-Indochinese countries. We suggest that a meeting be arranged for an exchange of views between the countries in this region, or between representatives of the two groups of countries on the occasion of the 37th session of the UN General Assembly.

Vientiane September 15, 1982

STATEMENT OF THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF LAOS, KAMPUCHEA AND VIETNAM

(March 3, 1983)

The Summit Conference of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was held in Vientiane from 22 to 23 February 1983 and proceeded to exchange views on the situation in their countries and in the World. The Summit Conference examined ways and means of strengthening solidarity and all-round co-operation for the sake of socialist construction and national defence in their respective countries. The three parties issued the following statement:

I

For centuries, the Lao, Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples have lived as good neighbours and constantly consolidated their friendship through their struggles for existence and development.

In the past, the three countries of Indochina were victims of interference and aggression by colonialist, militarist, imperialist and expansionist forces. Past

and present aggressors alike consider the three countries as a single theatre for their aggression, using one country as a spring-board to invade the other two and sowing division among the three so as to rule them all.

The history of the struggle of the three peoples shows that militant alliance and solidarity among them is a law of development of the three countries' revolutions, and a fundamental factor in defeating all enemies and regaining their independence and freedom. It is all the more so since the great leader President Ho Chi Minh, illumined the revolutions in the three countries of Indochina with Marxism-Leninism, and since the Communist Party of Indochina – predecessor of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and the Communist Party of Vietnam – was founded. Whenever solidarity is jeopardized, each country's independence is endangered. The treason of the Pol Pot clique – henchmen of reactionary forces in the Beijing ruling circles – seriously damaged solidarity among the three peoples. Through genocide and intervention by expansionist and reactionary forces it inflicted horrible suffering on the Kampuchean people, and threatened the independence and security of both Laos and Vietnam.

Under the leadership of the genuine revolutionary party in each country, the three peoples, at the price of their own blood, have restored and strengthened their vital solidarity. At present, they are co-operating and assisting one another in carrying out the

task of national edification on the path of socialism and national defence, thereby sharing in the common struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

II

Chinese expansionists and hegemonists have not yet abandoned their schemes of aggression and annexation against the three countries; neither have they given up their multifaceted sabotage activities against the revolutions in Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam, and their intention to use them as springboards for their hegemony throughout Southeast Asia.

In face of the new situation and tasks, the three peoples of Indochina must strengthen their solidarity and co-operation in all fields. Bearing this in mind, the three parties pledged:

1. To promote mutual solidarity and co-operation to assist one another in national edification and defence, contributing thereby to the cause of peace and stability in Southeast Asia and throughout the world without opposing any other country.

2. To constantly strengthen solidarity and co-operation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. All problems concerning relations between the three countries will be settled through negotiation in a spirit of respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual understanding, respect for

the legitimate interests of each country and of the three peoples as a whole.

3. To develop long-term co-operation and mutual assistance between two or three parties in all fields in a spirit of friendship and brotherhood, free will and on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

4. To strengthen solidarity between the three peoples against any enemy scheme to sow division and any manifestation of big-power chauvinism and narrow-minded nationalism; constantly educate the people of the three countries in the spirit of traditional friendship and special relationship between them, and being vigilant against any activity likely to harm their friendship.

The above-mentioned principles, which guide relations between the three Indochinese countries, not only serve the interests of the three peoples, are in line with their long-standing tradition of solidarity and friendship, but also conform to the spirit of international agreements on Indochina and the principles of the UN Charter and of the Non-Aligned Movement.

These principles lead the parties concerned to agree on the following:

1. Summit Conferences of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam shall be convened after leaders of the three countries consult with one another through Conferences of Foreign Ministers of the three countries.

2. Conferences of Foreign Ministers of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam shall be held twice a year

to solve all problems concerning relations between the three countries during the interval between. the two Summit Conferences.

3. A Committee for Economic Co-operation between Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam shall be set up in each country to promote economic co-operation and co-ordination of national plans for economic development. The three Committees meet twice a year.

4. Whenever possible, commissions shall be set up for co-operation between the three countries in the specific sectors of the economy, culture, science and technology, sports and physical culture, etc.

5. This Statement shall not affect bilateral or multilateral treaties and agreements already signed by each country.

III

Strengthened by their great friendship, special solidarity and all-round co-operation, bolstered by solidarity and comprehensive co-operation with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, and united with the non-aligned countries and forces of peace and progress throughout the world, the three countries of Indochina have overcome great trials, won brilliant victories and actively shared in the struggle for the common goals of our time, namely peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

The three peoples of Indochina, who underwent more than thirty years of strenuous war have no

greater desire than peace in order to reconstruct their countries and create a happy life free from want. They are determined to join the socialist and non-aligned countries and the peace-loving and progressive peoples in the world in the struggle for the defence and consolidation of peace, against the arms race, and for disarmament and international detente. They warmly welcome and fully support the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, particularly those proposals recently put forward in Prague in January, 1983, at the meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

The three countries of Indochina will constantly strengthen unity and comprehensive co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and strive to contribute to the consolidation of the socialist community of which the Soviet Union is the mainstay. They give active support to movements for national liberation and independence in Asia, Africa and Latin America, support the struggle of the working class and working people for their well-being and democratic rights, as well as to the peoples' struggle for peace. They are determined to intensify co-operation with the non-aligned countries in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, expansionism and hegemonism, racism, Zionism and apartheid, and for a new world economic order established on an equitable and rational basis. They warmly welcome the Seventh Summit Conference of the non-aligned countries to

be held in New Delhi in March 1983 and are confident that its success will be an important contribution to the common world struggle for peace, national independence and social progress.

The three countries of Indochina are prepared to develop good relations with their neighbours as well as with countries with different political and social systems on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The three peoples of Indochina have an age-old tradition of friendship with the Chinese people and always set great store by that traditional friendship. The mutual assistance between the Chinese people and the three Indochinese peoples in their struggle for the revolutionary cause is an undeniable historical reality. The present abnomal situation in the relations between the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on the one hand and the People's Republic of China on the other was not created by the three countries of Indochina. The three countries, persistent in their policy, will spare no efforts to restore normal relations with the People's Republic of China on the basis of peaceful co-existence, in the interests of their countries and of the Chinese people.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have consistently pursued a policy of peace, friendship and good neighbourliness in their relations with the ASEAN countries, in

spite of obstacles created by international reaction in recent years. Facts have proved that relations of friendship and co-operation between the countries of Indochina and the ASEAN are an important factor in preserving peace and stability in Southeast Asia. They should settle all differences through negotiation in a spirit of good neighbourliness, peaceful coexistence and friendly co-operation with one another. They should not let other countries intervene with and cause division among them, or use the territory of one country against another. They should work together to build Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation.

The three countries of Indochina, which set great store by their friendship with the American people, express their ardent desire to have normal relations with the United States on the basis of equality, respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and non-interferenee in each country's internal affairs.

The three peoples of Indochina express their sincere gratitude to the Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist countries, non-aligned countries, international organizations and friends all over the five continents for the valuable support and assistance they gave to their just cause, and are confident that in the future they will give the three peoples of Indochina more support and assistance.

The struggle of the three peoples of Indochina for a just cause has today gained momentum, and its perspectives are brighter than ever in spite of

the difficult and complicated circumstances it faces Holding high the banner of peace and friendship with the force of their solidarity merging into the three revolutionary currents of our time, the three peoples of Indochina will certainly overcome all difficulties and trials, and will advance to new and still greater victories in the building and defence o their beloved motherlands, thus making worthy contributions to the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in Southeast Asia and throughout the world.

Vientiane, February 23, 1983

STATEMENT ON THE PRESENCE IN KAMPUCHEA OF VOLUNTEERS FROM THE VIETNAMESE ARMY

February 23, 1983

All through their long struggle for independence and freedom, the peoples of the three countries of Indochina have kept closely united, assisting one another and shoulder to shoulder fighting common enemies. Vietnamese volunteers twice fought in Kampuchea side by side with the Kampuchean people's armed forces against aggression by French colonialists and American imperialists and then withdrew when those aggressions ended.

After the U.S. defeat in Indochina in 1975, reactionary elements among the Beijing ruling circles openly pursued a policy of hostility against the three countries of Indochina, using the Pol Pot clique to conduct a policy of genocide in Kampuchea, waging a war of aggression against Vietnam and undermining the independence and security of Laos, in an attempt to annex the three countries of Indochina and to turn them into springboards for their expansion in Southeast Asia. Proceeding from the traditional militant solidarity between the peoples and

revolutionary armed forces of Kampuchea and Vietnam, and exercising the sacred right to self-defence and in response to the request of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, volunteers from the Vietnamese army once again joined the people and the revolutionary armed forces of Kampuchea, and together with them overthrew the genocidal Pol Pot regime and thoroughly frustrated Chinese schemes.

After the Pol Pot clique was ousted, reactionaries among the Beijing ruling circles, acting in collusion with U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces, still continued their policy of hostility against the three countries of Indochina. They launched a war of aggression against Vietnam in February, 1979, used Thai territory as a sanctuary where the Pol Pot remnants and other Khmer reactionaries are fed and supplied with weapons in order to commit infiltration and subversion against Kampuchea, and to prevent the revival of the Kampuchean people; they also unceasingly stepped up provocations and created tension along the Thai-Kampuchean, Thai-Lao and Sino-Vietnamese borders, and conducted a war of sabotage against the Indochinese countries, thus jeopardizing peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

Under these circumstances and in conformity with the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation signed by the two countries in February, 1979, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea requested the volunteers from the Vietnamese army to remain in Kampuchea to fulfil their internationalist obligations, assist the people and the armed

forces of Kampuchea for national construction and defence against the intervention by reactionaries among the Beijing ruling circles and other reactionary forces. The presence in Kampuchea of the volunteers from the Vietnamese army meets the interests and aspirations of the Kampuchean people and fully conforms to the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement and the UN Charter on the right of nations to help each other for the purpose of self-defence.

In the past, volunteers from the Vietnamese army, together with the armed forces of Kampuchea and Laos, defeated colonialists and imperialists in their wars of aggression against the three countries of Indochina, thus eradicating the source of the threat to peace and security of the Southeast Asian peoples. Recently, for the third time, they were sent to Kampuchea in response to the need for solidarity and mutual assistance and to cope with the danger of intervention and aggression from overseas. This is not a threat to any country. The volunteers from the Vietnamese army are stationed in Kampuchea at the request of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and they will return home at its request.

The presence in Kampuchea of Vietnamese volunteers in the last four years has contributed to the defeat of the dark schemes of reactionaries among the Beijing ruling circles acting in collusion with U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces. Within a short period of time, the people of Kampuchea, with intelligence, braveness and creative genius, have

recorded great achievements in national reconstruction and defence; the armed forces of Kampuchea have been increasingly consolidated. The People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam are determined to strengthen their solidarity and co-operation, so as to contribute to the defence of peace and security of the three countries of Indochina.

Proceeding from their consistent position on the issue of the presence in Kampuchea of Vietnamese volunteers and taking account of the present situation, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Government of the Socialis Republic of Vietnam agreed on the following:

1. All volunteers from the Vietnamese army would be withdrawn from Kampuchea after the threat by reactionaries among the Beijing ruling circles and other reactionary forces is removed and the use of Thai territory against the People's Republic of Kampuchea is discontinued; when all support for the Pol Pot clique and other Khmer reactionaries is ended, and the peace and security of Kampuchea, particularly along the Kampuchean-Thai border, is assured.

2. Each year a partial withdrawal from Kampuchea of volunteers from the Vietnamese army will be decided upon with due consideration for the security of Kampuchea.

3. Following the withdrawal in 1982 of a part of the volunteers from the Vietnamese army from

Kampuchea, further units of Vietnamese volunteers will be withdrawn from Kampuchea in 1983.

4. In case the withdrawal from Kampuchea of volunteers from the Vietnamese army is taken advantage of at the expense of the peace and security of Kampuchea, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea will consult with the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, as provided for by the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between the two countries.

The Kampuchean people will forever remember the service given them by Vietnamese volunteers—officers and men from the Vietnamese army—who, guided by the noble spirit of internationalism, spared no sacrifice to assist the Kampuchean people in fighting intervention by overseas reactionary forces and their henchmen, i.e. the genocidal Pol Pot clique and other Khmer reactionaries, creating thereby favourable conditions for the revival and national reconstruction of the Kampuchean people.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic highly appreciates and warmly welcomes the above-mentioned decision of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and considers it a token of goodwill and a new important contribution to the peace and security of the three countries of Indochina and to peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea reaffirms its determination to build an

independent, peaceful and non-aligned Kampuchea, Once again, it declares that those Kampucheans who are in the ranks of the Pol Pot and other Khmer reactionary cliques, or who collaborate either directly or indirectly with them against the revival of the Kampuchean people, in the service of the hegemonistic schemes of the reactionary clique in the Beijing ruling circles and international reactionary forces, will be vested with full citizen rights, including the right to stand for election and to vote in free elections as stipulated in the Constitution, if they leave the Pol Pot and other Khmer reactionary forces, cease to collaborate with them, and respect the Constitution of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Foreigners will be invited to observe the free elections in Kampuchea.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam highly appreciate the above-mentioned judicious policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam consistently pursue a policy of peace, friendship and co-operation with neighbouring and all other countries. In this spirit, they once again reiterate their proposals on concluding non-aggression treaties and normalizing relations with China and the ASEAN countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, and on organizing an international conference on Southeast Asia to solve problems concerning peace and stability in the area.

Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam are confident that, with the efforts by all parties concerned, Southeast Asia, which has been under a state of tension for over thirty years, will become a zone of peace, stability, friendship and co-operation, free of foreign military bases, foreign troops and foreign intervention, in accordance with the interests and aspirations of the peoples of Southeast Asia and throughout the world.

Vientiane, February 23, 1983

SPEECH BY FOREIGN MINISTER NGUYEN CO THACH AT THE CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES IN NEW DELHI

(March 3, 1983)

It is well—known that during the past four years, all designs to restore the genocidal Pol Pot regime and to oppose the Kampuchean people's revival, as well as all attempts to demand for the presence in the non-aligned movement of the genocidal Pot Pol clique, who have committed bloody crimes, have failed. But why are some people still making so much ado about this question at this conference? Obviously by acting in such a way they are benefiting neither the Kampuchean people, nor the supreme interests of the movement which are to ensure the success of the Seventh Summit in uniting the non-aligned countries in the struggle for peace, national independence and a new international economic order. Like the imperialists and reactionaries who are so worried about this conference, they want us to waste time and get bogged down in the controversial problems between some non-aligned countries which, as is well—known, cannot yet be solved. They have made use of this

forum in order to distort facts, calling black white. We deem it necessary to speak the truth:

As we all know, during the past 35 years, the imperialists have slanderously accused Vietnam of being the aggressor and an instrument of China and the Soviet Union while at the same time launching an aggression against her. Today, China is doing the same. While carrying out a hostile policy towards Vietnam, the authorities in Beijing accuse Vietnam of being an aggressor and an instrument of the Soviet Union. The ASEAN countries, who in the past echoed the imperialist allegations, are now joining China to oppose Vietnam. But facts remain facts.

The first question is: who is the genuine representative of the Kampuchean people?

In order to determine this fact one must, first of all, consider the Kampuchean people's aspirations. The Pol Pot clique have murdered more than three million Kampucheans, that is nearly half of the population, destroyed the whole social and family life of the Kampuchean people, and brought the latter to the brink of extinction. And today, four years after the Pol Pot clique were overthrown, they are still causing nightmares to Kampuchean survivors.

After the overthrow of this clique, the Kampuchean people, having been brought to life from death, faced terrible famine and had to overcome the heavy consequences left behind by the Pol Pot regime. Hundreds of thousands of orphaned children wandered through devastated and death-stricken villages and cities, hundreds of thousands of

women became widows and tens of thousands of families were destroyed. No nationality, no religion in Kampuchea could escape the scourge of genocide. The Cham muslims were the ones who suffered most. The Pol Pot clique killed 500,000 Kampuchean muslims; and in Kampuchea now there remain only 200,000 muslims. Obviously, Kampuchea has started from scratch the revival after devastation and death. At present, after four years of revival, family and social life has returned to normal in Kampuchea The achievements by the Kampuchean people over the past four years have gone far beyond everybody's expectation. However it would take many more generations to overcome the consequences of the Pol Pot clique's genocide, many of which will never be eradicated. The Kampuchean people have emerged again. Almost all intellectuals — doctors, professors, engineers — and monks, have been killed. The Pol Pot clique wanted to model Kampuchea on China's "great proletarian cultural revolution". Four years is only a short period of time, but during this period, the Kampuchean people have attained wonderful achievements. This is due to the strength and creativeness of those who have emerged from death and cherish life. The achievements of this revival have been made possible, first of all, thanks to the leadership of the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and also to the international community's assistance.

In Kampuchea any foreigner can ask any Kampuchean whether it is the genocidal Pol Pot clique or

the People's Republic of Kampuchea which is undertaking the revival for the Kampuchean people. Anyone in this hall with any common sense knows the answer.

We are sitting here quite far away from Kampuchea, but we should not forget the cries of three million innocent people including children, women and old folk, who were murdered and are demanding that mankind should punish this historically unprecedented genocidal clique. It is our duty to meet the aspirations of the Kampuchean survivors, who have been brought to life from death, for the right to continue to live and to destroy once and for all the endless obsession with the genocidal Pol Pot spectre.

The second question is about the presence in Kampuchea of Vietnamese volunteers.

Those who are pressing for the genocidal Pol Pot clique's right to represent their victims use the pretext of the presence in Kampuchea of Vietnamese volunteers to condemn Vietnam as the "aggressor" and to cover up the Pol Pot clique's crimes.

In this forum, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has, on many occasions, expounded the reasons for this presence. Failing to compel Vietnam to depend on it, China, on the one hand, used the Pol Pot clique to unleash war against Vietnam on its south-west border and, on the other hand, launched the war of aggression against Vietnam, on its northern border. Between 1975 and 1978, Vietnam, on many occasions, embarked on the path of negotiation and asked the United Nations and the non-aligned movement to

help find a peaceful solution with Pol Pot. On their part, the Pol Pot clique completely rejected negotiation and were determined to intensify their war of aggression against Vietnam. In such a situation, Vietnam had a legitimate right to self-defence and, at the same time, had a duty to help the Kampuchean people to free themselves from the Pol Pot clique's genocide in response to the appeal of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea. This is not the first but rather the third time Vietnamese volunteers have come to Kampuchea. In the past, Vietnamese volunteers twice returned home as soon as the French colonial war and the American war of aggression ended. This time, Vietnamese volunteers are gradually withdrawing every year and will completely withdraw after China puts an end to its threats against the security of Kampuchea, to its aid to Pol Pot and its use of Thai territory to oppose the Kampuchean people. The two previous withdrawals and this present gradual one of Vietnamese volunteers show that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has always respected the independence and sovereignty of Kampuchea, and this has been welcomed by world opinion.

Singapore complains that the non-aligned movement has never condemned the so-called aggression by Vietnam while the United Nations has done so. History has made clear the distinction between aggression and occupation by foreign troops and the legitimate right to self-defence and the right to assist another nation to defend itself. During the Second

World War, the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain exercised their right to self-defence by overthrowing the fascist Hitlerite and militarist Japanese regimes and helped the nations under their domination to establish independent states. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has correctly stated in her analysis about the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan that "it depends whether those troops are occupying the country or helping them to help themselves". In Kampuchea now who is helping the Kampuchean people's revival and who is attempting to re-impose the Pol Pot genocidal regime ? Obviously, the wonderful achievements by the Kampuchean people during the past four years cannot be separated from the presence in Kampuchea of Vietnamese volunteers. It is clear that at present the Kampuchean people are living under the threats of genocide by Pol Pot aided by foreign powers from Thai territory

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam has clearly stated that the presence in Kampuchea of Vietnamese volunteers is at the request of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and also, at the latter's request, all of them will be withdrawn from Kampuchea. In Kampuchea any foreigner may ask any Kampuchean about the presence there of the Vietnamese volunteers. The Kampuchean people all want Vietnamese volunteers to remain in Kampuchea in order to defend their most sacred human right, the right to live and struggle against the genocidal danger from the Pol Pot clique. The ASEAN countries have made an outcry against the presence in Kampuchea of Vietnamese

volunteers but some ASEAN countries have participated in and supported the American war of aggression against Vietnam, and are now supporting the occupation of East Timor by foreign troops.

The non-aligned movement has acted in conformity with mankind's conscience and has not followed the tracks of the United Nations. It is well known that the United Nations condemned China as aggressor when the Chinese volunteers came to help the Korean people, and supported the U. S. aggressors against Korea and considered the former as the protector of the free world. In 1950 the United Nations recognized Taiwan and denied the existence of the People's Republic of China. That incorrect resolution could not for twenty years reverse the situation in China. On the contrary, the situation in China has finally reversed the resolution of the United Nations. During the sixties and seventies, while world opinion condemned the war of aggression against Vietnam, the United Nations was well known for acting as an accessary of the United States by keeping silent. Moreover, the United States, the aggressor, has a seat in the United Nations, while Vietnam, the victim of aggression, was, during 35 years, kept out of the United Nations.

The non-aligned movement consists of countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America which have been victims of aggression and exploitation by the colonialists, imperialists and other reactionary forces. The United Nations comprises all the nations in the world, including the aggressors and the victims of aggression

One of the objectives of the non-aligned movement has been to defend the interests of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America against aggression and exploitation. The resolutions of the non-aligned movement reflect our interests.

In the 50's, the United Nations was under the sway of iinperialism and since the 60's, it had undergone gradual changes, due to the struggle of the non-aligned, socialist and other peace-and justice-loving countries. The non-aligned movement has a duty to struggle for the unceasing reduction of the sway over the UN of the U.S. and other imperialists. We cannot do otherwise. It is the wish of U.S. imperialism and international reactionaries to make the non-aligned movement abide by the unjust resolutions of the United Nations.

The third question is relating to the view of the ASEAN countries who considered Kampuchea's vacant seat as the result of an arbitrary act by Cuba as chairman.

To criticize Cuba on the question of Kampuchea's representation is part of a plan directed against Cuba and the resolutions of the Sixth Summit Conference held in Havana. It is recalled that even before the Sixth-Summit was covened in Havana, the U.S. imperialists caused military tension against Cuba, and together with other reactionaries, tried in every possible way to sabotage the convening of the conference. After the conference was successfully held, they left no stone unturned to undermine the role of Cuba as chairman and the implementation of the correct

resolutions of the conference. They argued that under the chairmanship of Cuba the non-aligned movement had undergone a crisis and been divided and diverted from its original objectives. It is true that the Sixth Summit's resolutions run counter to the interests of the imperialists and reactionaries. That is why they are making such a hue and cry. The louder they cry, the more telling the blows they are given. However, these resolutions are warmly welcomed by those who struggle for peace, national independence and a new international economic order. During the pas three years, the non-aligned movement has gone through difficulties, complex situations and crises which were caused by the imperialists and reactionaries : world tension and the arms race, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the U.S. threats of aggression and intervention against the countries in Central America and the Caribbean, the invasion of the Malvinas, the aggression unleashed by South Africa against the front-line states, the stationing of the rapid deployment forces in the Persian Gulf region, the construction of military bases in the Indian Ocean area, the use of aircraft and warships to violate Libyan territory, China's threat of aggression and intervention against the three Indochinese countries, and the burden of economic crises unleashed by the imperialist powers upon the non-aligned countries.

There are also differences among the non-aligned countries. But the unfortunate incidents are of very minor, local and temporary character as compared with the threat of aggression and intervention by the

imperialists and reactionaries against non-aligned countries. The imperialists and reactionaries fan those differences with a view to dividing the non-aligned countries and diverting our struggle for common and broader interests. On the other hand, it is during the tenure of Cuba as chairman of the movement, a period of great tension, that the non-aligned countries' struggle for peace, national independence and a new international economic order, gained unprecedented victories : the struggle of the Palestinian people under the PLO leadership showed that despite very difficult conditions, the Palestinian people have, for a long period, fought against a much bigger Israeli force equipped with modern weapons, and defeated Israel's scheme to liquidate Palestine's resistance. Twenty years after the victory of the Cuban revolution, the Latin American revolution has met with many difficulties but the revolutionary struggle of the Central American and the Caribbean countries has entered a new stage of strong development despite US threats and intervention.

The Malvinas event marked a turning-point in the anti-US struggle to defend the independence of the Latin American countries and further to embark upon the non-aligned path. The three Indochinese countries step by step have defeated the hostile policy of China, acting in collusion with the US, against the independence of the three countries, which have become stronger than ever before. The capability of the Indochinese countries to defend their independence and peace in Southeast Asia is greater than ever. Over the last three years the victories recorded in the struggles by the non-aligned countries have vindicated

the sixth summit resolutions and have been reflected faithfully in the resolutions of the foreign ministers' conference in New Delhi and the conferences of the Co-ordinating Bureau held in New York, Kuwait, Nicaragua, etc. Cuba, as chairman, has brilliantly fulfilled its duty. It is our duty to defend Cuba, which is also to defend the resolutions of the movement and our solidarity. All attempts to attack the chairmanship of Cuba are aimed at attacking the correct resolutions and the solidarity of our movement. Leaving Kampuchea's seat vacant is the decision made by the conference of Heads of state and governmen's of the non-aligned countries after careful considerations and with a full sense of responsibility.

Although this decision may not be morally correct because it denied support to the victims of genocide in Kampuchea, it is judicious since it was intended to safeguard the unity of the non-aligned movement. All conferences of foreign ministers, of the Co-ordinating Bureau and other conferences relating to the movement of non-aligned countries from 1979 up to now have chosen to settle the question of representation of Kampuchea in the spirit of the Havana decision. Realities during the last four years have once again proved that this is a correct decision and so far no consensus has been reached in our movement on handing over Kampuchea's seat to the People's Republic of Kampuchea. To slanderously accuse that decision by Cuba as an arbitrary act shows lack of respect for our respected Heads of state and government. I resolutely condemn this kind of imprudence.

As foreign ministers we are determined to stay aloof from this unworthy action towards the leaders of our countries.

On behalf of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, I would like to reaffirm once more that:

— The People's Republic of Kampuchea is the sole legitimate and authentic representative of the Kampuchean people.

— The Pol Pot clique as well as the Pol Pot clique disguised as the so-called coalition government only have their place in prisons and at tribunals like the Nuremberg tribunal

Mr. Chairman,

We are facing problems of great significance for the destinies of the non-aligned countries as well as for the whole of mankind, that is peace, national independence and economic development. The reactionaries and the international reactionary forces want to divide and weaken us so as to easily impose their rule and exploit us. The question before us is to oppose all designs by the imperialists and reactionaries to divide us, put aside the differences so as together to strengthen solidarity and endeavour for our common objectives, namely, peace, national independence and a new international economic order.

The strength of our movement lies in the fact that its objectives are in conformity with the aspiration of thousands of millions of people throughout the world. To run counter to that aspiration would threaten the existence of the movement itself

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

COMMUNIQUE OF THE EXTRAORDINARY MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF LAOS, KAMPUCHEA AND VIETNAM IN PHNOM PENH

(April 12, 1983)

Foreign Minister Phoune Sipaseulth of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Foreign Minister Hun Sen of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam held an extraordinary meeting in Phnom Penh on April 12, 1983.

1. The three Foreign Ministers were unanimous in their assessment that the success of the Summit Conference of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam held in Vientiane last February opened up a new stage in the friendly relationship, militant solidarity and all-round co-operation between the three peoples. The socialist countries, the majority of non-aligned countries, many peace-loving countries and world public opinion have highly valued the solidarity between Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam, and the three countries' foreign policy of peace, friendship and co-operation. The Summit Conference was an important contribution to peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the world.

2. The meeting highly appreciated the 7th Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries and regarded it as an important contribution to the cause of peace, national independence and economic development of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The three Indochinese countries will continue to join efforts with India, the president of the Movement, and other member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement in exploiting the success of the 7th Summit Conference and in putting into effect the historic New Appeal and the political and economic resolutions of the Conference. The People's Republic of Kampuchea expressed its profound gratitude towards the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam for having resolutely struggled for a reasonable resolution on the representation of Kampuchea in the Non-Aligned Movement.

The Indochinese countries sincerely thanked the non-aligned countries for the strong support they had given to the successful struggle against the dark schemes of the imperialist forces and international reaction to bring back into the Non-Aligned Movement the Pol Pot genocidal clique, or the Pol Pot clique disguised under the mask of Sihanouk.

The 7th Summit Conference of non-aligned countries in New Delhi adopted judicious resolutions which were approved by ASEAN and the Indochinese countries. These resolutions do not recognize the Pol Pot genocidal clique, and appeal to Southeast Asian countries to hold negotiations to settle their differences and put forward a series of overall solutions

with a view to restoring peace and stability in South east Asia. Thus, the resolutions of the 7th Summit Conference of the non-aligned countries do not approve of the erroneous resolutions of the United Nations on Kampuchea, which only represent the interests of a group of Southeast Asian countries and were rejected by the other group. The three Indochinese countries appealed to India, President of the Movement, and other non-aligned countries to do their best to contribute to the holding of dialogue between Southeast Asian countries and to implementing the resolutions on Southeast Asia by the 7th Summit Conference of the non-aligned countries. The three Indochinese countries appealed to the United Nations and other countries to cease to recognize Pol Pot, to cease to encourage confrontation in Southeast Asia, and to contribute to the implementation of the resolutions by the Non-Aligned Movement on Southeast Asia. The three Indochinese countries welcomed the stand of those non-aligned countries which had voted for the Pol Pot clique at the United Nations and which, at the 7th Summit Conference, supported leaving the Kampuchean seat vacant at the UN.

3. The three Foreign Ministers examined the proposal on the holding of dialogue between ASEAN and the two Indochinese countries put forward by the Foreign Minister of Malaysia on 8 March 1983 in New Delhi, at his meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The three Foreign Ministers noted that the above-mentioned proposal conforms to the spirit of the 7th Non-Aligned Summit Conference and has been

approved by many ASEAN countries. The Conference of ASEAN Ministers on 23 March 1983 did not make clear its position on this question. The meeting of the three Foreign Ministers of the three Indochinese countries sternly condemned China's frantic opposition to this proposal, which is a crude interference in the affairs of Southeast Asian countries and is aimed at setting ASEAN countries against the Indochinese countries and undermining peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

The three Foreign Ministers examined the statement of the Conference of ASEAN Foreign Ministers held in Bangkok on 23 March 1983. They took note of the ASEAN countries' desire to hold dialogue, but considered the conditions posed by ASEAN as obstacles to the dialogue. The Indochinese countries held that the dialogue should include the two groups of Southeast Asian countries and that the agenda of the dialogue should be open or should be approved by the two sides and should be worked out on the basis of the resolutions of the 7th Non-Aligned Summit Conference which were adopted by all parties. Differences of views concerning the composition of the participants and the agenda may be solved through negotiations and on the basis of equality and mutual respect, in the interests of peace and stability in Southeast Asia. The three Foreign Ministers decided to continue to make efforts to promote dialogue between ASEAN and the Indochinese countries. The three Indochinese countries appeal to other countries not to interfere with the dialogue between Southeast Asian countries, and

welcome any contribution from any country to the dialogue.

4. Proceeding from the present security and stability of Kampuchea, the meeting discussed plans aimed at putting into effect the statement by Kampuchea and Vietnam at the February 1983 Summit Conference of the three Indochinese countries on the annual withdrawal from Kampuchea of a number of Vietnamese volunteers. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam informed the meeting that the 1983 withdrawal from Kampuchea of Vietnamese volunteers would take place in May this year.

5. The meeting examined the situation at the Thai-Kampuchean border and flatly refuted the allegations by the ruling circles in the USA and China and a number of reactionary elements in the area about the so-called attack on Kampuchean civilians and violations of Thai territory by Vietnamese troops. The three Foreign ministers sternly condemned the Chinese rulers who, acting in collusion with US imperialism, use Thai territory to enable the Pol Pot clique and other Khmer reactionary forces to oppose the Kampuchean people. The three Foreign Ministers strongly condemned the US for having increased aid in weapons to Thailand with a view to staging a comeback in Southeast Asia. The meeting asserted that the people and armed forces of Kampuchea, with the assistance of Vietnamese volunteers, have

the right to conduct punitive actions against the remnants of Pol Pot troops and other Khmer reactionary elements in order to defend their revival. While continuing to demand that the Thai authorities should cease all acts of interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and gross encroachments on the territory of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the three Indochinese countries reiterated their consistent policy, namely respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Thailand. The three Indochinese countries held that the present urgent problem was to put an immediate end to military actions at the Thai-Kampuchean border, to solve the problem of Kampuchean victims, and to restore peace and security in this border area. The three Indochinese countries once again reiterated the proposal put forward at the Meeting on 7 July in Ho Chi Minh City of the Foreign Ministers of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam on the establishment of a safety zone along both sides of the Thai-Kampuchean border, and called for a positive response from Thailand with a view to ensuring the security and stability of Thai-Kampuchean border area. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea once again proposed that the Kampuchea Red Cross and the Thai Red Cross should conduct negotiations on the repatriation of Kampuchean victims now taking refuge in Thai territory.

The three Indochinese countries are prepared to consider all proposals aimed at bringing back peace

and security to the Thai-Kampuchean border with all international guarantees acceptable to all parties.

The People's Republic of Kampuchea welcomes all efforts from any country or international organization which has friendly relations with both the People's Republic of Kampuchea and Thailand, aimed at helping the two countries to solve the problem of peace and stability on the Thai-Kampuchean border.

Phnom Penh, 12 April 1983

APPENDIX

SOLIDARITY BETWEEN LAOS, KAMPUCHEA AND VIETNAM:
CHRONOLOGY

February 5-11, 1976: A Lao Party and Government delegation, headed by Comrade Kaysone Phomvihane, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and Prime Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, paid an official visit to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

July 15-18, 1977: A Vietnamese Party and Government delegation, headed by Comrade Le Duan, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, and Comrade Pham Van Dong, member of the Politbureau of the Party Central Committee and Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, paid an official visit to the People's Democratic Republic of Laos.

July 18, 1977: The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, the Treaty of Demarcating the Border Line between the two countries and the Treaty on Aids and Loans between the two countries for 1978-1980 were concluded in Vientiane between Vietnam and Laos.

January 9, 1979: The Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Democratic Republic of Laos recognized the People's Republic of Kampuchea (founded on January 7, 1979).

February 16-19, 1979: A Vietnamese Government delegation, headed by Prime Minister Pham Van Dong, paid an official visit to the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

February 18, 1979: The Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation between the two countries was concluded in Phnom Penh between Vietnam and Kampuchea.

March 20-22, 1979: A high-ranking delegation of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, headed by President Souphanuvong, paid an official visit to the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

March 22, 1979: Laos and Kampuchea signed in Phnom Penh the Treaty on Economic, Cultural, Educational and Technological Co-operation between the two countries.

August 20-22, 1979: A high-ranking delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, headed by President Heng Samrin, paid an official visit to the People's Democratic Republic of Laos.

August 22-25, 1979: A high-ranking delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, headed by President Heng Samrin, paid an official visit to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

January 5, 1980: The Foreign Ministers of the three Indochinese countries held their First Conference in Phnom Penh.

They declared that they were prepared to sign a bilateral treaty of non-aggression with other countries in Southeast Asia, and to discuss with them the building of a peaceful, independent, free, neutral, stable and prosperous Southeast Asia.

July 17-18, 1980: The Second Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the three Indochinese countries, held in Vientiane, reaffirmed and clarified the proposals put forward on January 5, 1980. The documents dealt with the signing between Laos, Kampuchea, Vietnam and Thailand of bilateral or multilateral treaties of non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and non-use of one country's territory as a base for any other country to oppose a third country, and the signing of a treaty of peaceful co-existence between Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam on the one hand and other countries in Southeast Asia on the other. The proposals also showed the three Indochinese countries' willingness to discuss the measures to make Southeast Asia a peaceful and stable region, and to find solutions to the disputes over the East Sea.

At this Conference, the People's Republic of Kampuchea put forward a four-point proposal, including the question of setting up a demilitarized zone along the Kampuchean-Thai border in order to ease tension, thus turning the Kampuchean-Thai border into an area of peace and friendship.

October 30 – November 3, 1980. The National Mekong Committees of the three Indochinese countries held their first conference in Phnom Penh.

January 27-28, 1981: At the Third Conference of Foreign Ministers of the three Indochinese countries, held in Ho Chi Minh City, they declared their readiness to sign bilateral treaties of peaceful co-existence with the People's Republic of China. They proposed that a regional conference be held between the group of three Indochinese countries and that of ASEAN countries to discuss problems of mutual concern in the interests of peace, stability, friendship and co-operation in Southeast Asia. Once the countries of the two groups had concluded a treaty on peace and stability in Southeast Asia, an enlarged international conference would be convened so as to recognize and guarantee that treaty.

The Ministers affirmed that a number of Vietnamese troops would be withdrawn from Kampuchea if Thailand ceased making Thai territory available for use by Pol Pot and other reactionary Khmer forces as a base to oppose the Kampuchean people, stopped supplying them with weapons and food disarmed and herded them into different camps far from the frontier.

April 24, 1981: At a consultative conference held in Phnom Penh, the representatives of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam accepted the proposal on regional consultations put forward by a number of ASEAN countries pending a conference of the two groups of countries—Indochinese and ASEAN—to settle Southeast Asian problems. The meeting agreed to nominate the People's Democratic Republic of Laos as representative of three Indochinese countries to carry on

regional consultations with other Southeast Asian countries.

June 13-14, 1981: The Fourth Conference of Foreign Ministers of the three Indochinese countries was held in Phnom Penh. The Ministers proposed to hold a regional conference between the two groups of countries – Indochinese and ASEAN – with the participation of some observers. In case the ASEAN countries were not prepared to participate in a regional conference as mentioned above, regional consultations would be carried on between the Indochinese countries on a bilateral or multilateral bāsis. Three Indochinese countries would consider the possibility of an international conference being convened by the United Nations to recognize and guarantee the treaties concluded. If peace and stability were assured on the Kampuchean-Thai border, Vietnam and Kampuchea would reach an agreement on the withdrawal of a number of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea

June 20-22, 1981: The Second Conference of the National Mekong Committees of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam was held in Vientiane.

September 28, 1981: At the 36 th session of the UN General Assembly, the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, on behalf of the three Indochinese countries, presented a document entitled "Principles governing the peaceful co-existence between the two groups of countries – Indochinese and ASEAN – for peace, stability, friendship and co-operation in Southeast Asia"

December 25-27, 1981 The Third Conference of the National Mekong Committees of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam was held in Hanoi.

February 12-14, 1982: The First High-level Banking Conference of the three Indochinese countries opened in Phnom Penh.

February 16-17, 1982: The Fifth Conference of Foreign Ministers of the three Indochinese countries was held in Vientiane. The Conference reviewed the relationship between Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam and discussed problems concerning the holding of a conference of the three Indochinese countries. The conference also touched upon measures to develop all-round mutual co-operation between the three countries, and called on China to respond to the proposal, dated January 28, 1982, of the three Indochinese countries concerning the signing of treaties of peaceful co-existence with the People's Republic of China. The conference hailed the trend of the ASEAN countries in favour of further dialogue with the Indochinese countries and reaffirmed that Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam were prepared to keep contacts with the ASEAN countries, directly or indirectly, bilaterally or multilaterally, so as to discuss and find a solution to questions relating to peace and stability in the region. The three Indochinese countries declared that they were also prepared to discuss with Thailand all questions of common concern, including the questions of peace and security along the Kampuchean-Thai border.

May 1982: The First Laos – Kampuchea – Vietnam Traditional Music and Dance Festival was held in Phnom Penh.

End of May 1982: Laos—Kampuchea—Vietnam Aviation Conference was held in Ho Chi Minh City.

June 22-27, 1982: The Fourth Conference of the National Mekong Committees of the three Indochinese countries was held in Phnom Penh.

July 6-7, 1982: The Sixth Conference of the Three Indochinese Foreign Ministers, held in Ho Chi Minh City, once again called on the People's Republic of China to sign bilateral or multilateral treaties of peaceful co-existence with Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam. Vietnam proposed to resume the Vietnam—China talks to settle problems relating to the two countries. The People's Republic of Kampuchea reaffirmed its proposal put forward two years before on the establishment of a demilitarized zone along the frontier between Kampuchea and Thailand. If Thailand was not yet prepared to agree to that proposal, the People's Republic of Kampuchea put forward another proposal on the setting up of a safety zone along the frontier between Thailand and Kampuchea. In this proposal, only the withdrawal from this region of non-Thai and non-Kampuchean armed forces was raised.

Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam proposed to convene an international conference on Southeast Asia with the participation of the Indochinese and ASEAN countries and also Burma, the Soviet Union, China, the United States, France, Great Britain and India. The UN Secretary General would be invited to attend this conference in his personal capacity. If the Pol Pot clique was expelled from the United Nations, he

would take part in the conference in the name of the UN Secretary General. To show their goodwill, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea agreed to withdraw a number of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea in July 1982. Depending on the state of security and stability along the Kampuchean—Thai border and on Thailand's response to their initiative, the two countries might consider a further withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

July 26-28, 1982: The First Conference of the Health Ministers of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam was held in Vientiane.

September 15, 1982: The Foreign Minister of Laos, Phoune Sipaseuth, on behalf of the three Indochinese Foreign Ministers, sent a note to his counterparts in ASEAN countries and in other countries involved to clarify the standpoint of the three Indochinese countries in their proposals put forward at the conference of the three Indochinese Foreign Ministers held on July 7, 1982 regarding the Southeast Asian situation.

September, 1982: Laos and Vietnam welcomed the statement by Foreign Minister Hun Sen to SPK on September 18, 1982. The statement asserted once in an interview granted again the following policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea:

With regard to those Kampucheans who are in the ranks of the Pol Pot and other Khmer reactionary cliques, or who collaborate either directly or indirectly with them against the revival of the Kampuchean people, in the service of the hegemonistic schemes of the reactionary clique in the Beijing

ruling circles and international reactionary forces, they will be vested with full citizen rights, including the right to stand for elections and to vote in free elections as stipulated in the Constitution, if they leave the Pol Pot and other Khmer reactionary forces, cease to collaborate with them, and respect the Constitution of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Foreigners will be invited to observe the free elections in Kampuchea.

— The second traditional friendly sports tournament between the three Indochinese countries opened in Vietnam.

October 26-31, 1982: A friendly meeting of Indochinese Youth from Hanoi, Vientiane and Phnom Penh was held in Hanoi.

December 9-10, 1982: The preparatory meeting of the three Deputy Foreign Ministers of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam was held in Vientiane to make preparations for the Summit Conference of the three Indochinese countries in the spring of 1983.

December 16-17, 1982: The Fifth Conference of the National Mekong Committees of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea was held in Ho Chi Minh City, concurrently with a seminar on meteorology and hydrology of the three Indochinese countries.

February 20-21, 1983: The Conference of Foreign Ministers of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam was held in Vientiane.

February 22-23, 1983: The Summit Conference of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam was held in Vientiane.

April 12, 1983: An extraordinary conference of the three Indochinese Foreign Ministers of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam was held in Phnom Penh.

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